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614 461 476 7. Work. Labor is obligatory and communal for carrying out work necessary for the general well-being of the group. In the case of labor on property held by a single individual, aid is voluntarily lent by all the others, including men who may not belong to the same clan. The aid is reciprocated by the return of identical service when it may be requested.

614 8. Location of the dwelling. We have already spoken about the location of the home of the new family cell (Cf. Marriage residence in the chapter on Marriage).

614 764 9. The clan cemetery. Every clan group has a cemetery on its own land, built by the co-operative work of its members. In it all the members of the clan should be buried; if it is not possible to do so at the time of the first burial, it is mandatory that the ashes /sic/ at least be taken there. With the individualization of property, the small families have constructed private niches situated in sites near the family house to be used as the temporary resting place of the remains of their closest relatives.

614 571 10. Group feeling. The consanguineous tie between all the members of the same clan group had brought about a natural feeling of group unity. This feeling included a series of mutual duties and a number of rights they all could enjoy. The principal and most outstanding of the first was that of presenting a solid front in the face of any breaking down of the regimen for social stability when they felt injured by an offense or when one of the members had broken some cultural pattern, an act for which the whole clan had to bear responsibility. To get satisfaction and to give it as a total collectivity was their essential duty, as it was also to keep in force their prestige and status through adequate compliance of each of those functions which put the clan to the test.

The disintegration of the clan unit into more or less large family cells broken down the group feeling and transfered it to the family as an independent unit. /page 178 is blank/

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428 178 Guajiro community. As a consequence, this phenomenon has brought about a series of struggles among family groups related by marriage ties, as the children now expect to inherit from their fathers, and they consider themselves to have more right to it than the maternal nephews /sobrinos maternos/ and the other obligatory traditional heirs. The situation of conflict has reached such extremes of malevolence and rancor that many times the maternal relatives of the deceased will not resist such claims but will relinquish their rights to the dead man's descendants. /223/

XVI

WORK

461 476 There are two forms of communal work, depending on the ends in view.

a) Communal work with the object of carrying out a job of general utility or utility to the clan.

b) Private work that benefits an individual and his immediate family.

In the first class we have the example of the construction of roads, dams, wells, cemeteries, etc. In La Guajira passage is free over all roads. Consequently, their construction benefits the social collectivity and, more particularly, those groups who wish to be connected by means of them. To open a new road, the beneficiaries most concerned get together with the aim of coming to an agreement on the plans, the preliminary location, and the distribution of the span of the work which will be handled by each group. The collaborators, on their part, redistribute the cost and execution. Thus one day one family supplies food and drink to all the workers; the following day another family, and so on successively until the work is finished.

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47% The male members of the clan group take part in carrying out the work, bringing their own tools and contributing to the supply of essential materials. They all give their co-operation in order to have the right to benefit by the work, secondarily, in order to be well fed at the time of the work, an aspect that attracts them.

In the construction of wells or dams they take into account the utility they will have and the neighborhood to be benefited, so that the /residents of the/ latter will give their co-operation both with labor and with economic aid, with the upkeep of the workmen, or empirical aid in the search for /potential sources of/ drinking water.

The system that is followed in this class of labor is very similar to the previous one /road construction/. The families who stand to benefit take turns in feeding the workers; all the men to benefit contribute with their labor, their tools, and the necessary materials. /224/

With respect to clan cemeteries, as these are of interest only to a restricted group, all of the same name, it is exclusively its members that take part in the construction, either actively or by paying for the upkeep of wage-earning peons.

The second type of communal work generally refers to the carrying out of work that benefits only one small family, but for which the assistance of others is sought since the family finds it impossible to accomplish the necessary work by itself alone. All give their co-operation willingly and as an obligation which authorizes reciprocity when aid is solicited /later by any of the participants/. While the work is in progress, the Guajiro who has asked for communal co-operation procures food for the participants in the best way possible and supplies abundant liquor, by which he hopes to pay for part of the services received. In this way they clear the ground of trees and bushes for sowing, build fences around crops, cultivate a plot of land, harvest the crops, and build dwellings. The Indian who needs the help of others to carry out personal work advises his friends and relatives beforehand

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476 of the date work will begin and asks for their co-operation. Meanwhile at his house abundant food is prepared for the occasion and drink in considerable quantity: chicha made from chewed wild yucca or from corn. And each Indian who decides to lend a hand brings the tools required for the job and arrives at sunrise. At night he returns to his dwelling after working all day, generally drunk from the great quantity of chicha or rum which he has drunk. This cycle repeats itself daily during all the time necessary to finish the work. The owner of the house, or one of the volunteers of most experience, assumes direction of all the activities and gives orders which are quickly carried out. We will take as an 476 example the case of the construction of a dwelling. For this, 942 necessary plant materials are located beforehand in the woods of the clan property or in wasteland, and the services of an individual 824 acquainted with the method of housebuilding is also secured beforehand and the work carried out under his direction. The according to the ability of each of the workers, tasks are distributed; some prepare yotojoro (1), which is the roofing material; some

1. The woody part of the cactus called cardón.

lay the roof while others cover the walls with the bark of the trupillo /Mimosaceae family/, with grass stems, or with bahareque /small sticks with canes and clay, sometimes also called bareque/, according to the region or taste /of the owner/. In this way /225/ the work is finished in a short time. By the same procedure the excavation of a well or the building of a dam for rain water is carried out.

476 When it is a matter of preparing ground for sowing or any other agricultural work, the activity is carried out in an identical manner. Some go to give their services to a friend so that once they have finished work on his agricultural land, the friend will [626] immediately reciprocate by lending his assistance on their land. The Guajiro keeps very much in mind the person who refuses to

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●476 give his co-operation on occasions like these, so that later, if he [626] asks for his help, he also refuses.

There is one type of communal activity carried out by the women; it is that connected with the work of chewing which they contribute in the preparation of chicha of wild yucca or of corn used at all their festivals or on the eve of male communal work. On such occasions the women's assistance is requested, and they all gather, very pleased with the work they have to do, by virtue of which once finished they receive rum or chicha as recompense, and can eat large quantities of yucca and corn cakes on the sly while they are doing their job. The two types of communal work are substantially different. The first benefits all the community or at least a clan group, while the second affects only one individual and his immediate relatives. The participation of the individual and of the family in true community work acquires in some cases the character of an obligation inherent in the position of a member of a given clan group. In others his co-operation depends on the benefit he is likely to derive from it: the use of a cemetery, wells for water supply, etc.

In the second type, on the contrary, the individual participant derives no benefit from the work in itself, but from the reciprocal co-operation that the beneficiary on that occasion must give to each of those who have helped him. To refuse to participate is [681] an infraction of a norm that may isolate the man from society. [626] What is accomplished by the co-operative work of various groups acquires for this reason a communal character in its utilization. In the second case it is individual or family private property.

For the first, the Guajiro gives his aid in labor, the loan of tools, the maintenance of laborers, the handing over of part of the construction materials, etc. For the second, he gives nothing more than his labor and the use of his tools because the maintenance of the men is the direct concern of the party benefited.

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462 Domestic work. The division of activities by sex is one of the primary classifications that can be made in La Guajira in